

Message Text

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ACTION IO-11

INFO OCT-01 AF-06 EUR-12 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02

INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15

USIA-06 EB-07 CU-02 AGR-05 HEW-02 TRSE-00 OMB-01

XMB-02 ERDA-05 USPS-01 COME-00 FEA-01 INT-05 /107 W

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R 051545Z MAR 76

FM AMEMBASSY CAPE TOWN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4998

INFO USMISSION GENEVA

AMEMBASSY LONDON

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C O N F I D E N T I A L CAPE TOWN 0229

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: SF, US, PORG, PFOR

SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: SOUTH AFRICAN POSITION

REF: STATE 37591

1. FOLLOWING RESPONDS TO QUESTIONS CONTAINED IN PARA 7
STATE 37591 RELATING TO POSITION OF GOVERNMENT OF SOUTH
AFRICA ON MULITLATERAL AFFAIRS. AS CONSEQUENCE OF ITS
DISCRIMINATORY RACIAL POLICIES, SAG HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM
NUMBER OF INTERNATIONAL FORUMS AND PARTICIPATES IN THOSE
REMAINING OPEN TO IT WITH CONSIDERABLE CARE AND APPREHENSION.
MOST STATES SHARE THE DESIRE OF THE US TO AVOID APPEARANCES
OF ENDORSING SAG, WHICH FACT SHARPLY LIMITS THE EXTENT OF
COORDINATION AND COOPERATION WITH SAG ON MOST MULTILATERAL
ISSUES OF A POLITICAL NATURE. IN TURN, SAG OFFICIALS ARE
SENSITIVE AND DEFENSIVE ABOUT PARTICIPATION IN SUCH FORUMS
AND ARE OFTEN RELUCTANT TO BE DRAWN INTO ANY DISCUSSION
OF SAG POSITIONS IN THE CONVICTION THAT THEY CAN EXPECT
NO DIRECT SUPPORT FOR SUCH POSITIONS AND ARE BEST ADVISED
TO KEEP THEIR OWN COUNSEL.

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WM MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES IN 1976. SAG GENERALLY WISHES TO AVOID CIRCUMSTANCES IN WHICH IT MIGHT BE FURTHER RESTRICTED IN ITS PRESENT OR POTENTIAL PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL BODIES. IT WILL OFFER NO CANDIDATES FOR POSITIONS AND TAKE VERY FEW INITIATIVES EXCEPT AS NOTED BELOW. AT PRESENT IT HAS BEEN EXCLUDED FROM THE FOOD AND AGRICULTURE ORGANIZATION, THE INTERNATIONAL LABOR ORGANIZATION, THE INTERNATIONAL MARITIME COMMISSION, AND UNESCO. ITS VOTING PRIVILEGES HAVE BEEN SUSPENDED IN THE WORLD HEALTH ORGANIZATION AND THE WORLD METEOROLOGICAL ORGANIZATION. EXCEPT FOR THE ISSUE OF NAMIBIA (SOUTH WEST AFRICA) IT HAS NOT ATTEMPTED TO PARTICIPATE IN UNITED NATIONS ACTIVITIES, THOUGH IT REMAINS A MEMBER. SAG RETAINS MEMBERSHIP IN THE INTERNATIONAL MONETARY FUND, THE INTL BANK FOR RECONSTRUCTION AND DEVELOPMENT, THE INTL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION, THE INTL FINANCE CORPORATION, THE INTL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY, THE INTL POSTAL, TELECOMMUNICATIONS, AND CIVIL AVIATION ORGANIZATIONS, AND THE WORLD INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY ORGANIZATION.

3. SAG REGARDS UN DISCUSSION OF POLITICAL MATTERS RELATING TO SOUTH AFRICA AS NOT MERELY HOSTILE BUT IRRESPONSIBLE AND DIVORCED FROM REALITIES. IT HAS DEVELOPED A VERY HARD SHELL ON THE BASIC ISSUE OF APARTHEID AT HOME, AND HAS TAKEN NO MEANINGFUL ACTION TO CHANGE ITS PRACTICES NOR INVITED SERIOUS DISCUSSION ON THE SUBSTANCE OF THE PROBLEM. SAG CAN BE COUNTED ON TO CAPITALIZE ON ECONOMIC ISSUES, POINTING OUT ITS IMPORTANCE AS A SOURCE OF RAW MATERIALS, TECHNOLOGY IN ATOMIC ENERGY AND COAL-TO-OIL PROCESSING IN ADDITION TO ITS MEDICAL PROWESS. IT WILL SEEK TO ATTRACT INVESTMENT AND TO STRENGTHEN ALL KINDS OF INTERNATIONAL TIES THAT CAN BE KEPT FAIRLY FREE OF POLITICAL SYMBOLISM. IN MOST OTHER ISSUES SAG WILL PREFER TO CONDUCT ITS RELATIONS THROUGH BILATERAL DIPLOMACY. IT SEEKS RELAXATION OF CREDIT RESTRICTIONS FROM THE US, AND WOULD VERY MUCH LIKE TO FIND SOME BASIS FOR LOOSENING THE PROHIBITIONS ON SALE OF ARMS AND MUNITIONS. SAG HOPES THROUGH QUIET CONTACTS TO EXPAND ITS DETENTE POLICIES VIS-A-VIS BLACK AFRICAN STATES, AND CONTINUES TO EXPRESS THE BELIEF THAT ITS ROLE IN ANGOLA HAS STRENGTHENED RATHER THAN

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DAMAGED ITS PROSPECTS IN THIS AREA.

4. EFFECT OF OTHERS ON HOST GOVERNMENT POLICIES. SAG IS RECEPTIVE TO WESTERN GOVERNMENTS' VIEWS AND SUGGESTIONS, BUT THE SHADOW OF THE RACE ISSUE IS INESCAPABLE AND DARKENS TO SOME EXTENT ALMOST EVERY FIELD. SAG IS CURRENTLY INCLINED TO MISTRUST THE US, BUT STILL CONSULTS BRITISH AND TO LESSER EXTENT FRENCH, WHO HAVE BEEN IMPORTANT

SUPPLIERS OF ARMS. THE INFLUENCE OF THERS IS SOMETHING THAT VARIES FROM ISSUE TO ISSUE AND TIME TO TIME: SAG HAS LITTLE ABILITY TO AFFECT WHAT OTHER NATIONS MAY DO IN A MULTILATERAL SITUATION.

5. HOST GOVERNMENT INSTRUCTION AND CONTROL OF DELEGATES. TIGHT CENTRALIZED CONTROL AND A VERY HIGH DEGREE OF DISCIPLINE WITHIN THE RANKS OF NATIONAL PARTY MEMBERS AND THE CIVIL SERVICE INSURE PROMPT RESPONSIVENESS TO SAG DIRECTIVES. SAG IS PROBABLY PLEASED WITH THE QUANTITY AND QUALITY OF THE REPORTING IT RECEIVED FROM ITS MISSIONS. WE SUSPECT, HOWEVER, THAT THERE IS A VERY GREAT TENDENCY FOR ITS REPRESENTATIVES TO REPORT WITHAT SEEMS FAVORABLE TO SAG VIEWS, EITHER SOFT PEDELLING CRITICISMS OR DISCOUNTING THEIR SINCERITY, WHICH SOMETIMES MAY LEAD SAG TO SUBTLY DISTORTED INTERPRETATIONS.

6. POLITICAL POWER OF SAG REPRESENTATIVES. NO SUCH REPRESENTATIVE, EVEN AN AD HOC DELEGATE OF MINISTERIAL RANK, IS LIKELY TO HAVE A SUFFICIENT PERSONAL POLITICAL BASE TO GO COUNTER TO SAG GUIDANCE. EVEN CABINET MINISTERS COULD NOT CLAIM INDEPENDENT POWER, THOUGH THEIR AUTHORITY WITHIN THE PARTY MAY BE SUBSTANTIAL.

7. SA CONSIDERS ITSELF A NUMBER OF THE WESTERN "FREE WORLD", AND YEARNs TO BE FULLY ACKNOWLEDGED AS SUCH. HAVING CLEARLY LOOKED TO THE US TO PROVIDE LEADERSHIP IN PROTECTING WESTERN (INCLUDING SOUTH AFRICAN) STRATEGIC INTERESTS AGAINST COMMUNIST ENCROACHMENT, SAG EXPRESSES BITTER DISAPPOINTMENT OF WHAT IT REGARDS A FAILURE OF US TO CARRY OUT ITS "RESPONSIBILITY AS LEADER OF THE WEST" IN ANGOLA. ON MOST NON-AFRICAN POLITICAL ISSUES, SA HAS ALMOST INSTINCTIVELY CHOSE TO SUPPORT BASIC WESTERN

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POSITIONS AND ITS DELEGATES TO INTERNATIONAL MEETINGS HAVE GENERALLY SEEMED WILLING TO CONSULT ON TACTICS AS APPROPRIATE. ON ALL ISSUES, HOWEVER, IT HAS SHOWN A DISCIPLINE DETERMINATION TO DO WHAT IT CONSIDERS BEST FOR SOUTH AFRICAN INTERESTS, AND THE OCCASIONS ON WHICH IT SEEKS ADVICE OR CONSULTATION ON ANY LEVEL, EXCEPT IN THE MOST INFORMAL AND UNATTRIBUTABLE MANNER, ARE RARE. US VIEWPOINTS DO HAVE A SUBSTANTIAL IMPACT ON SAG THINKING, BUT THIS OCCURS MORE THROUGH THE SAG'S ASSESSMENTS OF THE US SCENCE THAN THROUGH TRADTIONAL DIPLOMATIC CONTACTS. INFLUENCED ON AFRICAN ISSUES BY FACTORS MENTIONED IN PARA 5 ABOVE, SAG OFTEN SHOWN TENDENCY TO REGARD DEPT AND FS PROFESSIONALS AS AMONG ITS VISCERAL FOES, AND TO BELIEVE THAT THERE ARE MAY IMPORTANT PEOPLE IN US WHO ARE ON SAG SIDE IF ONLY THEIR VOICES COULD BE HEARD.

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